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No. 5

DR. FLEXNER'S CRITICS

(Concluded from pages 10, 18, 26)

On March 9 last, at a special meeting of The New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, held at Springfield, Mass., there was a discussion of The Modern School, in which, by previous arrangement, ex-President Eliot, Professor Shorey, Mr. Alfred E. Stearns, Principal of Phillips Academy. Andover, and Mr. Otis W. Caldwell, Director of the Lincoln School, took part. These papers were published in the journal called Education, for May, 1918. as follows: The Modern School, Charles W. Eliot, 38:659-667; "The Modern School", Paul Shorey, 668-684; Education and the New Order, Alfred E. Stearns, 685-593; An Experimental School, Otis W. Caldwell, 694-705. Following these set papers came others, more or less extemporaneous, which are also published in the number of Education named above, by Mr. Payson Smith, Commissioner of Education, Mass., Professor Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard University, Mr. George H. Browne, of The Browne and Nichols School, Cambridge, Mass. (The Modern School and Present Day Distractions, pp. 710-721, friendly to the Classics), Professor Paul H. Hanus, of Harvard University (hostile to Latin), and Mr. Charles H. Forbes. It is in no spirit of unfairness, at least in no spirit of conscious and intentional unfairness, that I confine comments to Professor Shorey's paper. Dr. Eliot said nothing he had not said before. He still thinks of education only in terms of himself and his own children and children's children; training in science made him the great man he feels himself to be, and so training in science every body must have. Would Dr. Eliot accept the argument sometimes put forth for the Classics that training in the Classics has helped to make men-e.g. England's statesmen, or rather England's scholar-statesmen-effective and great? But why should one expect new ideas, or evidences of intellectual flexibility in the man who, after he had laid down his office as President of a great University, quoted his inaugural address of thirty-nine years before, and then told the world that "After thirty-nine years of experience in the same office he finds the above description correct"? (University Administration, 239-241. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908). Few men are willing to admit that they knew as much, on any subject, thirty-nine years ago as they know now.

But let us turn to Professor Shorey's paper. He

began by pointing out, in effect, that the proponents of the Modern School cannot, or at least, do not, reason. He commends the ardor of Dr. Eliot, but says (669–670):

But outside of the practical problems of collegiate administration it is difficult to put one's finger upon President Eliot's specific contribution to the theory of education, and still more difficult to discover what are his specific and pertinent arguments about the place of Latin in secondary and collegiate education in the America of today.

He remarks (670) that

Professor Nutting of California has shown in School and Society that President Eliot's use of statistics is hardly more critical than Mr. Flexner's. But President Eliot rarely finds time to notice such minute cavils. My own objection is broader. A partisan politician intent only on victory may use statistics effectively to argue that his measure is "sure to pass" and that the prudent will make haste to climb into the band-wagon. But from our more disinterested point of view, even if the statistics of a decade or two did happen to show a diminution of interest in Latin, they would leave intact the question whether a judicious counsellor would seek to accelerate or to retard the The decline of any great human interest tendency. in our schools and colleges to a place below its real significance for our total culture and civilization might indeed be the very reason of endeavors to revive its study. It is pleasant to swim with the stream, but it is not the sole function of a leader of opinion. President Eliot did not select his five foot shelf from the statistics of the best sellers of the past twenty years. And he would probably deplore as much as I do Mr. John Powys' list of the hundred best books that includes the unspeakable Sanine, and, I believe, omits Homer and Vergil. And yet the practical effect of President Eliot's utterances is to range him in the popular judgment with the educators who would feed the souls of the coming generation on Shaw, Wells, Dostoievsky, Gorkey, Strindberg, Nietszche, Freud rather than on obsolete classics and stodgy Victorians.

Next he criticizes Dr. Eliot's lack of logic (672):

The credulity of the American people, for example, momentarily absorbs his attention as a chief symptom and proof of the mistaken education which a conventional curriculum forced upon them. I understood him to imply that the discipline of the chemical laboratory had been his own sole defense against that credulous temper, and that he had now fortified himself further by the resolution to believe nothing on second hand evidence. But he surely cannot expect any considerable proportion of American youth to enjoy more of the discipline of the physical and chemical laboratory than has fallen to the lot of Sir Oliver Lodge who is probably the most credulous gentleman now in the public eye on either shore of the Atlantic. And President Eliot himself, distrustful as he may be of

secondary evidence in matters of moment, would still have profited by any discipline that would have made it impossible for him to print as an argument against classical studies a second or third hand statement of Franklin about the size of Renaissance editions of the classics, when ten minutes critical inquiry would have conducted him to the truth in the preface of Aldus. But I perhaps naively mistake for a flaw of logic what is only lack of interest in the subject.

Professor Shorey then points out (673) that the argument for the Modern School "could be repeated almost verbatim with the substitution of English or Chemistry as the suppressed subject".

The argument drawn from the Lincoln school belongs in short to a type which I have been in the habit of designating to myself as the "fallacy of idealizing description". The most elementary example of this is the pictures of pretty children in interesting attitudes that accompany popular expositions of the Gary or Montessori system or illustrate Dewey's "Schools of the Future". What mother can resist the emotion of conviction that the contemplation of such carefree happy infancy inspires? It is precisely the psychology of the gigantic bill-board advertisements of "milk from contented cows". How can you distrust the contents of the can when you have seen the purple cows grazing? And indeed the connection is very close between the psychology of the new education and the psychology of advertising.

A most interesting and valuable paragraph is that in which Professor Shorey argues (674) that, in proportion as the enthusiasm or personal ambition or exceptional resources at the command of some individual, especially if that individual happens also to be particularly gifted, lead to a special success with a method or a School, that very success reduces the value of the 'experiment' for education in general, since (674)

The teaching of the world is and must remain largely wholesale task work, a gigantic chore. The defects are mostly the limitations of the average man in power of sustained enthusiasm, self-sacrificing devotion and intelligence. As Chamfort said one hundred and fifty years ago, in order to reform education you must reform everything else. Impatient idealists from Plato down have expected to reform everything else by reforming education out of hand. The exceptional school that in the first flush of enthusiasm or ambition overcomes these obstacles may afford helpful hints for combating them elsewhere, but its very success in this respect invalidates its testimony to the superiority of the particular curriculum that its founders favor

Professor Shorey then insists (675) that the Modern School is not an experiment, in any proper or scientific sense of the word, and very politely, but all the more effectively, points out that the supporters of the Modern School, though their attention has repeatedly been called to this fact, "continue to employ the word 'experiment' as they do the name Lincoln, for its advertising value".

Professor Shorey then turns to consider the positive arguments for Latin (676):

The positive arguments for Latin can be stated as well in five minutes as in half an hour. There are four or five chief considerations; but for argumentative purposes it is largely a question of the burden of proof.

For nearly two thousand years some acquaintance with the Latin language and Latin civilization has been a prominent part of all liberal education above the elementary schools. From time to time since the Renaissance, protestants have arisen—some of them obscurantist opponents of all study of the past, others merely protesting against the excessive and exclusive study of Latin and Greek. The *relative* significance of Latin has of course diminished with the development of modern languages and modern sciences. But the majority of thoughtful and cultured men in England and America have continued to believe that some acquaintance with Latin is still a desirable and in many acquaintance with Latin is still a destinate cases a necessary constituent in the secondary and bigher adjusting of English speaking people. Their higher education of English speaking people. reasons broadly are: its presumptive and proved superiority as an instrument of general linguistic training; its relations to the English language; the intrinsic value of Latin literature and the impossibility of understanding European and especially English literature without it. Each of these topics would demand at least an hour for an exposition and illustration which after all would be superfluous because the work has been repeatedly done, sometimes better, sometimes worse, but adequately enough, in the aggregate. No speaker in half an hour could resumé for you the contents of the Princeton volume on "The Value of the Classics", of Livingstone's recent book, of Lord Bryce's recent article, or of my own "Case for the Classics", to say nothing of the enormous literature cited in its footnotes.

He maintains as a "somewhat fresher topic" that the study of Latin has peculiar value for American education in the present world crisis (677):

There is a dangerous and treacherous conspiracy to make this nation bi-lingual. . . . Under American conditions the teaching of any foreign language in elementary grades will be a tool of propaganda. One of the wisest of critics has said, "No one can learn fanaticism from Cicero and Horace". Or as Ferdinand Brunetière once put it, "The study of the classics is neither professional, confessional, nor passional". The substitution for modern languages in the last years of the grades and the earlier years of the high school of even a slight study of Latin will avoid these dangers, will give in a better form the indispensable general discipline in the logic of language, will confirm the predominence and improve the quality of English in this country, will prepare the student for the readier mastery of French, Spanish, and Italian when he needs them

The concluding pages, in which Professor Shorey makes the point that the utterances of Dr. Eliot, and others like him prove them to be in reality "without genuine feeling for any of the world's supreme classics" should be read in full.

I have put together, in this editorial, some hints of the reactions to Dr. Flexner's proposals in particular, and to the general movement of which they are a part. It is plain that the friends of the Classics, the country over, were not voiceless; they expressed themselves freely in opposition to Dr. Flexner. In all this there should be comfort and strength for the lovers of the Classics.

Another source of comfort may well be mentioned as a fitting close to this discussion. Dr. Albert Shaw, in his paper on Classic Ideals and American Life, in

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10.217-220, concluded by pointing out how much of the Classics he found in a single copy of a newspaper, published in the midst of our last Presidential campaign. This reminds me of a fine paper by Professor Kent, of which mention should have been made long ago. It is entitled Latin and Greek in the Newspapers, and appeared in the Alumni magazine published at the University of Pennsylvania, formerly known as Old Penn, but now called The Pennsylvania Gazette. See volume 15.386-390 (March 30, 1917). This paper, read at the Fourth Annual Meeting of The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies, presents an astonishing array of evidence that to the writers in the Philadelphia newspapers, at least, the Classics are not dead, and that these writers have no fear that the Classics are dead to their readers.

SOME FOLK-LORE OF ANCIENT PHYSIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

(Concluded from pages 21, 29)

We have now noted the beliefs connected with the organs of the lower and the upper trunk cavity and with the head. There remain to be discussed certain elements of our physical constitution which are common to the whole body, namely, the humors, bones, nerves, flesh, and skin.

From the time of Hippocrates the ancients believed that there were four cardinal fluids of the bodysanguis, cholera or yellow bile, melancholia or black bile, phlegma (Isidorus, Origines 4.5).

These four liquids were known as humors (humor being the Latin word for 'liquid'), and good health was thought to depend on the maintenance of a just proportion among them. The balance or commixture of the humors was known as a man's temperament, that is, his 'mixture' (L. tempero, 'to mix')⁵², or as his complexion (from a Latin word meaning 'combination', derived from com-, 'together', and plecto, 'to weave'). Thus if a man had more blood than any other humor in his system, he was said to be of a sanguine temperament or complexion (L. sanguis, 'blood'); if more bile, of a bi ious temperament or complexion; if more phlegm, of a *phlegmatic* temperament; if more melan-choly (or black bile), of a *melancholy* temperament. If the temperament, or balance of the humors, was greatly disturbed, the result was distemper53, that is, a variance from the proper mixture' .

Temper, however, which was a synonym of temperament, has taken a different course. We use it vaguely for 'disposition', but commonly associate it in some way with 'irascibility'. 'Keep your temper', 'he lost his temper', 'ill-tempered'55, show a trace of the old meaning; but the colloquial 'What a temper he has'!, 'He is in such a temper'! would never be referred to physiological science by one who did not know the history of the word.

Upon the blood depended sweetness of disposition and geniality: Sanguis Latine vocatus quod suavis est, unde et homines, quibus dominatur sanguis, dulces et blandi sunt (Isidorus, Origines 4.5.6). The blood was aided and abetted by the bile in producing ill humor: Ex sanguine et felle acutae passiones nascuntur, quas Graeci ôféa vocant (Isidorus, 4.5.7)56.

These beliefs are reflected indirectly in English by such expressions as good humor, ill humor, in humor (obsolete), out of humor, vein of humor⁵⁷.

As might be expected, passionate love is occasionally represented as having its abode in the blood; compare Aen. 4.1-2. One can compare with this Bassanio's words addressed to Portia, M. V. 3.2.178: Only my blood speaks to you in my veins.

There are still other popular notions connected with the blood. According to Pliny, N. H. 11.221, animals with abundant rich blood are irascible; those with thick blood courageous; those with thin blood intelligent; those with little or no blood timid58. Pliny adds, 11.226, that there are persons who believe that the keenness of the mind does not depend upon the thinness of the blood⁵⁹. Empedocles was numbered among those who attributed acuteness or bluntness of intellect to the quality of the blood60.

Pliny further informs us, N. H. 11.224, that the blood spreading over the face indicates changing mental attitudes, by depicting shame, anger, and fear through the varying degrees of pallor and redness. So much is true, but our author adds that the redness

Compare Julius Caesar 4.3.113-115 Hath Cassius lived To be but mirth and laughter to his Brutus, When grief and blood ill-

but mirth and laughter to his Brutus, When grief and blood ill-tempered vexeth him?

"Such notions about the blood are frequently found in Shakespeare. The following quotations from II King Henry IV are worth citing: 2.3.30 humours of the blood; 4.3.44 as humorous as winter. There is a close connection between one's disposition and the blood. Compare 4.4.38 When you perceive his blood inclined to mirth. The opposite side of one's nature is likewise affected. Compare 4.4.63 When rage and hot blood are his counsellors; 4.5.38 Thy due from me is tears and heavy sorrows of the blood.

Another illuminating instance is to be found in Julius Caesar 4.3.110-121:

Have not you love enough to bear with me When that rash humour which my mother gave me

When that rash humour which my mother gave me Makes me forgetful?

5"'A diseased condition of any one of the four humors might manifest itself as an eruption on the skin; hence such an eruption is still called a humor in common language. Again, an excess of one of the humors might make a man odd or fantastic in his speech and actions. Thus humorous took the meaning 'eccentric', and a 'humorous man' was what we call, in modern slang, 'a crank'. The 'comedy of humors', of which Ben Jonson is the best exponent, found material in caricaturing such eccentric persons. From this sense, humor had an easy development to that of 'a keen perception of the odd or incongruous', and we thus arrive at the regular modern meaning of the word. It is certainly a long way from humor in the literal sense of 'liquid' or 'moisture' to humor in the sense in which that quality is so often associated with wit' (Greenough and Kittredge, Words and their Ways in English Speech, 32-33).

26Compare figurative uses of 'warm-blooded', 'cold-blooded', 'sanguine'.

Compare 'Blood will tell'. "Sed Empedocles causam argutae indolis et obtusae in sanguinis qualitate constituit (Tertullian, De Anima 20). Compare King Lear 3.1.40 I am a gentleman of blood and breed-

a most perfect and divine temper, one in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met, without emulation of precedency.

Sthis word may be used of either physical or mental condition. Thus Shakespeare writes, II King Henry IV 3.1. 41-43:

It is but as a body yet distemper d;
Which to his former strength may be restored
With good advice and little medicine.
Hamlet's madness is called a distemper. Compare also Tempest 4.1.145 touch'd with anger so distemper'd. So Franklin says in his Autobiography, My distemper was a pleurisy which very nearly carried me off.

"The quotations are from Greenough and Kittredge, Words and their Ways in English Speech, 30-31, 32.

of anger is one thing, and the blush of modesty another. According to his view, a person blushes, as we have shown before, because the cheeks are the seat of modesty.

The ancients believed that the blood was pumped through the body in veins, and that the arteries were air-ducts; sanguis per venas in omne corpus diffunditur et spiritus per arterias (Cicero, N. D. 2.138; Pliny, N. H. 11.182, 218)61. Ignorance of the facts of circulation naturally caused other misconceptions. It led to the localization of the seat of modesty in the cheeks. It gave birth, likewise, to the notion that the arteries were air-passages, a mistake to which the very word artery (apropla, Latin arteria) is a monument more enduring than bronze62.

Ancient physiology supposed that the spiritus passing through the arteries vitally influenced the processes of life.

It is in unconscious obedience to this superannuated science that we use such words and phrases as 'in high (low, good, bad) spirits', high-spirited, low-spirited, 'a spirited horse', 'a spiritess performance', and that we speak of one who is spontaneously merry as having 'a great flow of animal spirits'63

A large body of beliefs grew up in connection with the flesh also. The view was current in antiquity that sin and many forms of weakness were due to the caro. No set of notions connected with any organ, except the heart, has left a stronger impress upon language, especially ecclesiastical literature. Even in Latin pagan works the idea of the conflict between the spirit and the flesh is well developed. The corpus or caro is regarded as the seat of the baser passions.

Seneca, Epp. 7.3.22, says of the body: 'In this hateful abode the mind dwells free; never shall this flesh drive me to fear, never to insincerity unbecoming to a good man'. He states further, in Epp. 7.3.20, that he is too great, and born to too noble a destiny, to permit his becoming a slave to his body. Other passages in Seneca are equally significant; compare e.g. Epp. 8.73.16 Summum bonum in animo contineamus. . . . Non est summa felicitatis nostrae in carne ponenda. The following sounds very much like the utterance of a Church father: Omne illi <=animo> cum gravi carne certamen est, ne abstrahatur (Consolatio ad Marciam 24).

Such usage paved the way for the expressions so common in the Latin of the New Testament and of the ecclesiastical writers. The following are typical instances from the Bible: Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem (Gal. 5.17); Spiritus quidem promptus, caro vero infirma (Mark 14. 38).

No more sweeping statement of the attitude toward the flesh can be found than in Tertullian, Resurr. 15: In carne et cum carne et per carnem agitur ab anima quod agitur in corde.

There are two probable explanations of these beliefs. The ancients regarded the human body as composed of four elements, air in the breath, fire in the heat, moisture in the blood, earth in the flesh. As in the physical universe the basest element is earth, so in the body the flesh is regarded as the basest part, and hence is a fit abode for the passions.

The other explanation carries us back to a time when the function and the existence of nerves were unknown. Since pleasures and pains are felt locally, it was concluded that the seat of sensation is in the flesh64. Hence we say that the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.

It was the opinion of some in antiquity that a thick skin indicated stupidity (compare English 'thick-skinned', 'thick-skulled'), a view that Pliny, N. H. 11.226-227, refutes to his own satisfaction by citing the cunning of the crocodile and the intelligence of the hippopotamus and the elephant66.

The custom of embracing the knees is due, according to Pliny, N. H. 11.250, to a strange notion:

'Suppliants clasp the knees, they stretch their hands to them, they adore them as they do altars, perhaps because the knees are the seat of vitality. For exactly at the front of either knee, right as well as left, there is a kind of opening like that of a mouth. From this, if pierced, the vital spirit escapes as from a throat'.

The knees were consecrated to misericordia, just as the ear was to memory (Servius, on Vergil, Ecl. 6.3).

Several ideas were associated by the ancients with the marrow. Perhaps they thought it exercised a profound influence on life since Nature took such pains to enclose it in a hard casing. In the oldest tradition it was a seat of life, as we see from Od. 3.455.

Among the Romans the seat of life is not assigned to the marrow, but some of the deeper and more vital manifestations of emotional life are placed in it. Thus we find in Cicero, Phil. 1.36, in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant. Compare Ovid, Trist. 1.5.9 Haec mihi semper erunt imis infixa medullis.

Vergil makes the marrow the seat of some of the deeper feelings, as love, fury, grief and fear. Thus the flame of love eats at the marrow of Dido: Aen. 4.66; 1.660. In another instance, Aen. 4. 101, when Dido is represented as madly in love, she arouses fury in her bones. Great grief burns in the bones of Gyas: Aen. 5.172. So, too, fear may be felt in the bones: Aen. 6.55-56.

Harpers' Dictionary regards the secondary uses of medulla as tropes. But few of them, it seems to me, are to be taken as such, in the ordinary sense of the

[&]quot;Compare Love's Labour's Lost 4.3.305 The nimble spirits in the arteries.

"In English we have several expressions that reflect ancient mistakes. We say that a person has French blood in his reins (not in his arteries). The blood was one of the 'humors' of the body; hence we speak of a 'vein of humor', not an 'artery of humor'. It is significant that the Spaniard designated a certain class of aristocrats as 'blue bloody', and not as 'red bloods'.

"Greenough and Kittredge, Words and their Ways in English Speech. 33.

Speech, 33.

Aristotle regarded the flesh as the seat of feeling. See Zeller, Outlines of Greek Philosophy, 203.

scompare the English use of 'pachyderm' as applied to dullards.

term trope. I believe that an orator is called 'the marrow of eloquence'66, not because of any similarity between eloquence and marrow, but because the marrow was supposed to be the seat of some of the deeper feelings which he succeeded in arousing.

Popular fancy seems to have played but little part in attributing functions to the nerves as such, for the simple reason that the existence of the nerves was not generally known among the laity. Even the Egyptian story already quoted from Gellius to the effect that rings are worn on the finger next to the smallest one, because there is a delicate nerve connecting it with the heart, is a matter for antiquarian research. Aristotle is said to have been unaware of their presence in the human body⁶⁷. Hippocrates, however, knew of nerves as distinguished from tendons and ligaments68. There are, nevertheless, popular uses of the word nervi in the sense of 'sinews'.

When Cicero, Phil. 5.2.5, speaks of money as the sinews of war, nervi belli pecunia, it is clear that this use of nervi is a trope. When, however, he says, Verr. 2.3.56, omnibus nervis mihi contendendum est69, I question whether the use is, historically speaking, tropical, as the dictionaries regard it. It seems preferable to believe that such usage is due to the feeling that in the nervi lies strength. Thus Persius says (1.45) Decipe nervos, 'Cheat your nerves (sinews)', which means, 'Cheat yourself into believing that you are sound and strong'.

Solinus, 1.7, expresses the common view: Maximam virium substantiam nervos facere certissimum est, quantoque fuerint densiores, tanto propensius augescere firmitatem. Solinus then proceeds to quote Varro. The latter marvels at the ruggedness of a Samnite who was a born gladiator, and states that many of his victories were due to the lattice-work of straight and transverse nervi on his breast. It may be noted, too, that enervare, 'to remove the sinews', means 'to weaken'70.

With advances in the science of anatomy, the word nervus modified its meaning, but the old idea which attributed strength to the nervi has left its impress upon the Romance words for 'nerve'. French nerf. Spanish nervio, and Italian nervo all mean 'strength'

or 'vigor' as well as 'nerve'. The Spanish can say, fuerte como un manojo di nervios, 'strong as a bundle of nerves'.

I believe I have now noted the main misconceptions about the seats of our physical, intellectual and psychological life. I have also called attention to their effect upon the language and the customs of the Romans. I shall add an additional group of popular notions which were committed to writing in a most perfunctory fashion by a Latin author.

Pliny, after recording with approval in the eleventh book so many popular fallacies and beliefs, hesitates to be sponsor for certain others that tax even his credulity, and so he shifts the responsibility to Aristotle and Trogus: see 11.273-276.

'I marvel not only that Aristotle believed that there are in the human body certain prognostics of life, but that he went so far as to set them down. Although I believe them worthless, and think they ought not to be published without hesitation, lest each person should anxiously seek out these indications in his own case, I shall in spite of all touch upon them, since so learned a man did not reject them. He has, then, recorded as indications of a short life, a small number of teeth, abnormally long fingers, a leaden color and numerous broken lines in the palm; on the other hand he regards as signs of long life curving shoulders, one or two long unbroken lines in the hand, the presence of more than thirty-two teeth, and large ears. He puts significance, I think, not in all of these signs taken together, but in the isolated occurrence of any one of them. These beliefs are foolish, if you want my opinion, yet they are widely current.

In a similar manner amongst us a description of character as indicated by the physiognomy has been set forth by Trogus, although he is one of the most conservative writers. I shall let him speak for himself71. "When the forehead is large, it indicates a sluggish mind underneath; when small, a fickle disposition; when round, an irascible temper, a visible sign, as it were, of a swelling tumor beneath. Eyebrows extending in a straight line are indications of weakness; when turned down toward the nose they are a sign of austerity; when inclined toward the temples, they point to a sarcastic disposition; when they are very low, they denote envy and malice. Long eyes indicate a spiteful nature; fleshy corners of the eyes next to the nose furnish a sign of wickedness. white of the eve when large is a sign of impudence; those who are forever working the eyelids are fickle. Large ears are a sign of loquacity and foolishness" 172.

After completing the quotation Pliny again reminds the gentle reader that it is only a quotation.

There are, of course, other instances of folk-lore in connection with ancient anatomy and physiology, but I have in general confined myself to those beliefs which mistakenly assign physical, intellectual, and psychological attributes to certain parts of the body. The article is not exhaustive even in the range to which I have limited it, but it is hoped that it will shed

⁶⁶Suadae medulla, Quintilian 2.15.4; Cicero, Brutus 59. ⁶⁷Zeller, Outlines of Greek Philosophy, 203.

^{*}Galen 5.205 (edition of Kühn).

**Compare Love's Labour's Lost 1.5.303 The sinewy vigour of the traveller.

[&]quot;Compare Love's Labour's Lost 1.5.303 The sinewy vigour of the traveller.

""Nerve once meant 'sinew' (L. nerus), as in Shakespeare's 'hardy as a Nemean lion's nerve'. Nervous was therefore 'vigorous',—a sense which remains in 'a nervous style' or a 'nervous writer'. With the advance of physiology, however, the name nerve received a different sense, with the result that, in ordinary use, nervous suggests almost the opposite of sinewy strength. It is worth notice that we have transferred to nerves in the modern sense a number of expressive words which are literally applicable to the muscles and the sinews. Thus we speak of 'nervous tension', and say 'every nerve was tense with excitement', or in the vernacular, 'his nerves were on the stretch'. Compare 'nervous strain'. 'To lose one's nerve' is really 'to lose one's sinewy fibre', to become weak and 'flabby'. In modern usage, a man 'loses his nerve' in proportion as he becomes conscious that he has nerves,—a curious contradiction, but natural enough when we know the history of the word'.' (Greenough and Kittredge, Words and their Ways in English Speech, 213).

⁷¹Trogus is, however, indebted to Aristotle, Historia Animaliun

^{1.9} ff.

A large and interesting collection of material of this character is to be found in P. R. Foerster, Scriptores Physiognomici Graeci

fuller light on many passages of Latin literature and incidentally on modern forms of expression78. UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS. EUGENE S. McCartney.

REVIEW

Roman Craftsmen and Tradesmen of the Early Empire. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. By Ethel Hampson Brewster. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Co. (1917). Pp. xiv + 101.

It is the writer's aim, therefore, to discuss Roman craftsmen and tradesmen as depicted by the satiric writers of the early Empire. The expression, 'satiric writers', is adopted in order to include not only Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, but also Petronius and Martial: In lieu of a more comprehensive term, 'craftsmen' is used to designate those whom the Romans called opifices. An attempt has been made to investigate in the authors above mentioned all passages relevant to our subject; to incorporate the information secured into a connected account, with the aid of references from other sources by way of comparison or elucidation; and finally, to use this material as a basis for determining, so far as possible, the social status of Rome's industrial population during the period in question.

According to these words of Dr. Brewster (page xiii) her dissertation should be of interest especially to two classes of students-students of Roman satire. from which her material is largely drawn, and students of Roman private life and economic history, to which fields her conclusions most largely contribute.

By the familiar analytic, alphabetic method, to which we are now so accustomed in the dissertation form, the author classifies under twenty-six heads the craftsmen and tradesmen of Rome:

I Aerarii Ferrarii; II Argentarii; III Aurifices; IV Caelatores; V Caupones; VI Centonarii; VII Cerdones; VIII Coci; IX Coriarii; X Dendrophori; XI Fabri; XII Ferrarii; XIII Figuli; XIV Fullones; XV Institores; XVI Lanii; XVII Mangones; XVIII Mercatores; XIX Negotiatores; XX Pistores; XXI Praecones; XXII Sutores Cerdones; XXIII Tabernarii; XXIV Textores; XXV Tignarii Collegia Fabrum Centonariorum Dendrophorum; XXVI Tonsores

Many of these trades run one into another. Concerning the majority the satirists give but little evidence, and usually of an inconclusive sort. Often where they pour praise or contempt upon a tradesman, it is difficult to determine whether the measure be the trade or the man or both. Guilt here, as elsewhere, is usually personal rather than occupational. Still there is the old taint of trade: the Republican prejudice continues; and noteworthy is the tradesman who through personal worth or commercial success rises above his traditional social status. Dr. Brewster's work is very frankly a bit of special pleading for the "butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker" of Imperial Rome. She has not always succeeded in winning a favorable verdict for her client; but in more than one case she has thrown the burden of proof on the complainant by a skillful cross-examination of the principal

For example, butchers and the industrial population in general have been maligned because of Livv's denunciation of C. Terentius Varro (22,25,18 f.):

Loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum.

But, as Dr. Brewster shows (28-29), Livy complains chiefly, not that Terentius was the son of a butcher, but that his father had, like a slave, peddled his own meats, and had compelled his son to do the same. Dr. Brewster's conclusion (29) is as follows:

Since, therefore, the heaviest aspersions in the passage seem to be directed against a slave's occupation and a lawyer's dishonesty, they cannot fairly be cited as committing lanii and other tradesmen to the depths of social disgrace and degradation. All that is clearly proved is that butchers were of humble station.

Similarly, also, Dr. Brewster has rehabilitated the praeco (44-53). The principal aspersions on the auctioneer's business are based on a provision of the Lex Iulia Municipalis, with Cicero's comment thereon (49-50). How is praeconium in the law to be interpreted? Cicero's statement does not help us. It seems clear from the context in which the word occurs. qui praeconium dissignationem libitinamve faciet, that the ban was placed upon praecones as attendants upon funerals, not as ordinary auctioneers. As the other two functionaries are the funeral marshal and the undertaker, so the praeco who might not hold the office of decurion in municipalities, colonies, or prefectures was the functionary whose part Phormio assumes when in Terence, Phormio 1026, he invites the audience to attend the funeral of Chremes: Exsequias Chremeti quibus est commodum ire, em! tempus

The rehabilitation of Echion, commonly called 'the rag-picker', will prove interesting to students of Petronius (81-82):

Surely <he> is more than a 'rag-dealer'; interpreted as a prosperous canvas manufacturer, perchance even a member of the local fire department, this character assumes grander proportions, and we can well understand his optimism, his pride in his country and his boys, and his effervescent sense of importance.

In this connection the vexed problem of the collegia fabrum centonariorumden drophorum is well handled (86):

The collegium fabrum with its adjuncts, then, appears to have been a well-equipped and highly organized Department of Public Safety, charged with guarding against fires and upholding the peace. Presumably, the fabri made and manipulated the apparatus; the centonarii manufactured canvas, piecing it together to

nA few lines from Shakespeare, Julius Caesar 4.3.42-47, will illustrate very clearly how ancient notions have survived:
All this! ay, more: fret till your proud heart break;
Go show your slaves how choleric you are,
And make your bondmen tremble. Must I budge?
Must I observe you? must I stand and crouch
Under your testy humour? By the gods,
You shall digest the venom of your spleen.

make either protective covering for implements or cap and tunic uniforms which may have been for the firemen in general, or for the *centonarii* themselves, that they might form a special brigade to fight nearest the flames; the *dendrophori*, a company of porters, attending to all carrying and hauling required by the duties of the department, and probably looking after the policing of the town.

For this theory of the *dendrophori* Dr. Brewster cites as a striking parallel the porters of Constantinople, who, by an old custom, serve also as night-watchmen and firemen.

Students of Martial will find interesting the author's elaboration (61-65) of Professor Tracy Peck's argument (Classical Philology 9 [1914], 77-78) concerning the location of the book-trade at Rome. In another place (59-60), she questions the familiar interpretation of Martial 2.17.1-3, which makes the Argiletum the headquarters of the shoe-trade. She is inclined, with Professor Peck, to locate that trade on the Vicus Sandalarius, a conclusion which appears sound topographically as well as etymologically.

There are matters in which the reviewer cannot commend this dissertation. The writer is familiar with the satirists and the literature upon them. She ought not to expect such familiarity on the part of all those who might want to use her work. Her method would be more scientific, if her footnotes made clear the opinions of editors on the many moot points. It is difficult for the reader to tell what theories Dr. Brewster originated, and what were found in the commentaries upon her authors. The casual reader might like to know, for example, that on page 77, note 4, the parallel of Pausiaca. . . tabella, Horace, Serm. 2.7.95, with "Windsor Chairs" is at least as old as Greenough's edition.

Equally unscientific is the writer's treatment of Latin comedy as evidence on points of Roman private life. It seems absurd to have to refer to such a matter, but what can be said of the following in the discussion of Textores (74)?

. . . the Andrian woman of Terence's play is said to have made her living at the loom when she first came to the Roman Capital <Andria 74f.>.

The critic, for one, wishes that in our American publications inscriptions were designated not merely by the Corpus numbers, but, where possible, also by those of Dessau's collection, a work which by its comparative cheapness will be available to many who have not the larger and expensive Corpus.

On page 7, note 1, Suetonius, Nero 5 is cited for the use of argentarii as 'brokers', but Professor Pike translates by 'silversmiths'. In the same note CIL 6.9186 (=Dessau 7507) is hardly cogent, since the vital word is restored. On page 41, in CIL 6.10069 (=Dessau 5295), the epitaph of the famous racehorse, $Hirpinus\ N.\ Aquilonis$, Dr. Brewster restores N(epos), perhaps correctly. But the editors have commonly taken the abbreviation to be for N(iger), as in other inscriptions of race and chariot horses.

The author's conclusion (94-101) is the best written portion of the work. In it she well summarizes the whole matter (94, 98, 101):

population played a significant part in the life of the early Empire and received no inconsiderable recognition. It is true that the favorite occupations were still agriculture, law, and war. . . But the growing power of wealth and the commercializing of the old aristocratic pursuits were extending their influence broadcast, so that the Ciceronian attitude toward paid labor could no longer be rigidly sustained. . . .

Upon the condition of that vast number of workers who did not aspire to higher position, but remained in the industrial ranks at home or abroad to supply the daily wants of the Roman Capital and municipalities, we feel that we need waste little commiseration. Many freemen no longer hesitated to make money by trade; and the most conservative must gradually have been led to see, as Juvenal was, that a livelihood earned through honest business was more befitting a freeborn man than that gained through obsequious sycophancy.

We may readily conclude, therefore, that the first and second centuries of our era saw a revival of industrial life in the Roman world in both town and country. More freemen were probably engaged in the trades and crafts than ever before, and it was perfectly possible for shrewd and very ambitious opines to acquire a fortune, retire from business, and vie with men of higher birth; furthermore, the majority of those who continued to fill the ranks of steady toilers in homely pursuits, apparently felt an honest pride in their work, maintained flourishing corporations, took an active interest in public affairs, and lived, for the most part, happily and contentedly. Humble, but not degraded, they realized in their totality the force of Horace's words

Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

There is nothing very novel in these conclusions, but it was worth while to consider in a monograph this phase of ancient life as it appears in the only group of writers that can throw light upon it. The general purpose and results of the dissertation are therefore to be commended.

SMITH COLLEGE. F. WARREN WRIGHT.

A PLEA FOR CHRISTIAN AUTHORS

In the issue of America, a Catholic periodical, for May 30, 1914, Mr. Herbert Francis Wright, then Instructor in Latin in The Catholic University of America, published a short paper entitled A Plea for Christian Authors. Mr. Wright admitted, without hesitation, that the pagan Classics, Greek and Roman, should have a place in the curricula of our Colleges, non-sectarian and Catholic both, since it is from them the pupil

can acquire clearly and precisely the general and fundamental ideas to be found in all compositions, in all discourses, contract the mental habits of the intellectual worker, acquire logic, the principles of analysis and synthesis, the eager desire for truth and the method of discovering it, and discriminating nicety in the use of language.

But he is surprised that in some parts of our country practically no College includes in its curriculum a Latin or Greek author who is also a Christian. He is surprised at this because antiquity did not remain pagan to the end; "the most important phase in its history is marked precisely by the advent of Christianity. . . ."

Mr. Wright was thinking primarily of Catholic Colleges, but much of his plea for the reading e. g. of the Octavius of Minucius Felix and the Apologeticum

of Tertullian is valid for all Colleges1.

Because of his fierceness of spirit and his fiery style, Tertullian perhaps can be approached only by pupils of more than ordinary ability, but Minucius Felix is

accessible to all.

From a literary point of view, modern scholars have always held the Octavius in very high esteem. To one it is "a little book of gold", to another, "one of the masterpieces of Christian literature"; another calls it "a charming work", which, with the Tusculans, approaches even the Phaedrus and seems illuminated with the "light of Greece"; still another, "the pearl of the apologetic literature of the last years of Marcus Aurelius".

It happens that this little dialogue, wherein Minucius Felix places a pagan and a Christian face to face, is a model of the purest classicism and has all of the qualities which have hitherto bestowed upon the pagan Classics the exclusive privilege of entering the classrooms. In point of view of composition, regularity of plan, and logical exactness in the sequence of ideas, nothing more perfect is to be found in Latin literature. Hence it would be a good model for class-room imitation. Nor can any of the Classics better inculcate that which the French call le sens de la loi.

There is also found in the Octavius, in a state accessible to young minds, all that general culture that our race inherits from the ancients and it is found there more completely, because there it is presented under its two aspects, the pagan and the Christian. What more instructive than this grand and moving spectacle of the two civilizations at close quarters, which shows how the modern world has issued from the ancient

world?

. . . Minucius Felix offers nothing which an ordinary pupil of freshman or sophomore grade can not easily grasp, even in the sublime description of the life of the Christians which forms the last part of his

work.

But, some one will say, the language of Minucius Felix is post-classic. Now, the language of Minucius Felix is not far removed from the classic language and is easy, but it could not be classic if classic is to mean Ciceronian, simply because Minucius Felix lived two and a half centuries after Cicero. . . Is it any the less regular and excellent on that account? . . teachers of English cite as models the writers of the nineteenth century, and even our own contemporaries, side by side with Lord Bacon and the essayists of the Spectator. Why, then, are the Latins not treated in the same way?

. . . the pagans did not write alike and large volumes have been published on the particular syntax of Cicero, of Caesar, of Sallust, of Livy, as well as on that of the Christian writers, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and others. Any College professor of Latin well knows the difficulty the student has with the brachylogies of Livy and Tacitus and the archaisms of Plautus and

¹Compare the remarks of the Rev. William M. Dwyer, The Classical Weekly 10. 135-136, and the paper by Professor Harrington, The Latinity Petish, in The Classical Weekly 1. 138-141.

Terence. The Latin of the early Christian writers' especially of Minucius Felix, does not differ from that of Cicero more than does that of Plautus or Tacitus.

I know that Minucius Felix loves archaisms, hellenisms, and poetical turns. . . . But Sallust is as archaic as he is and Horace has more hellenisms. And as for the poetic color, nothing could be more in keeping with the setting of the opening scene of the Octavius nor more natural to the dicussion between the two friends. Besides, he is very often working with classic reminiscences, such as are found in good writers

of every age.

But if the pupil must study this later syntax after having tried to acquire a knowledge of Ciceronian syntax for several years, will not his young mind become confused? . . . We must, no doubt, begin by teaching classical syntax, but afterwards the study of a writer like Minucius Felix will be an excellent means of recalling to the students and strengthening in them this knowledge. For instance, in such and such a case, we tell them, Minucius Felix has put the accusative and the infinitive where Cicero would have used the subjunctive with quin. Confusion is not thereby produced among those who know their syntax (nor among the others, because it existed there already).

FOUR LATIN SONGS

In March last there was issued at the University of California a four page pamphlet giving a group of four Latin songs recently written by one of the members of the staff. This member of the staff, not named in the pamphlet, was Professor Nutting. Three of the four pieces had appeared in The Classical Weekly: Carmen Pastorale, 10.200; Lux Libertatis, 11.16; Deus Praesidium Nostrum, 11.112. The new piece is as follows:

CARMEN HORAE VESPERTINAE

Nunc hominesque labore gravatos, nunc requies pecudemque vocat; omnia leniter arva nigrescunt, silva simul sine murmure stat. Lal-la-la, lal-la-la, care, quiesce, mater enim in tenebris vigilat.

Mane per aethera sol radiosque mittet equosque per ardua aget; luce sua subito excitat omnes, fervet opus, via mox stropitat. Lal-la-la, lal-la-la, care, quiesce, mater enim in tenebris vigilat.

Sidera, parve, micantia somnum iam pueris avibusque cient; nunc oculos, placidissime, conde; somnia dulcia te maneant! Lal-la-la, lal-la-la, care, quiesce, mater enim in tenebris vigilat.

In the pamphlet music for this piece is given. In the footnote it is stated that this song, if sung as a solo, is best suited "to the contralto voice. It can be given a very effective setting by making it a feature of a cradle scene, with the singer garbed as a Roman matron".

C. K.

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